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back to the village. Economic training came largely from his father and the older men of the lodge. If he were inclined to be lazy, his mother would talk to him, while her brother would shame him and accuse him of bringing disgrace to the clan.

A boy was taught to begin fasting when he was eight or nine years of age. The parents would tell him of the benefits he would receive and cite the various eminent men of the village who had attained their position from this practice. The mother's brother and his older brothers would give him goods to take into the Okipa to present to some man of his father's clan and designate the person entitled to the gift. An older brother planning to fast would bring a younger brother to the Okipa ceremony and instruct him, sending him home when he thought he had been there long enough, while the father would give him some small article from his ceremonial bundle to wear, thinking it would help to get a "vision."

A lodge "grandfather" contributed a great deal to a boy's education. He would make toy bows and arrows and teach him to use them. If he had a fish trap, his grandsons did much of the work of carrying willows to the bank for weaving into sections for the walls, and he would permit them to bail the fish out of the trap. He would teach them games, especially techniques and skills which would be useful in warfare, and tell them stories. Using rivalry between the moieties, these old men who were too old to hunt would arrange the boys ten years and younger on sides and teach them to use shields for their protection, shooting at each other with arrows on the blunt ends of which a ball of mud or wrapped hide had been attached.

Not to be discounted in the training of a young Mandan boy or girl was the informal education they received by living in intimate contact with the entire village population, observing the conduct of others, and being kept informed of contemplated group action by the village "criers" who announced each decision of the village leaders. He learned that he must treat different relatives in various ways and that they would laugh at him if he did not. Learning that he was expected to treat different relatives the same way his brothers did, he imitated his older brothers unconsciously and followed their advice.

A girl's education was essentially the same as a boy's except

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up by death or divorce; some fathers were in disrepute, having conducted an unsuccessful war expedition. An old man of a boy's lodge, one who had belonged to many societies, learning in the village that there was talk of buying the youngest society, would encourage his grandson to join and would help him accumulate the goods used for the purchase.

Joining an age-grade society for the first time as a boy, he encountered a "father-son" relationship which had heretofore applied only to his own household. He was selected by a member who was of his father's clan, and the initiate addressed him as "father" during all the proceedings preliminary to the formal purchase; he learned that the other two or three boys his ceremonial "father" had selected were likewise based on a "father-son" relationship. This "father-son" relationship, extending outside his own household, formally instituted when making his first purchase into a society, became the basis of his behavior in buying and selling societies and ceremonies for the rest of his life.

FASTING AND FIRST WAR EXPEDITIONS

Fasting during the Okipa ceremony marked the introduction of the boy to status in the tribe as a whole and was first instituted at the age of eight or nine, when the people of all the villages were assembled for this annual event. The first fasting was of short duration. The fasting periods increased until a boy reached the age of seventeen or eighteen, when he was expected to fast for the entire duration of the Okipa ceremony and to drag buffalo skulls or be suspended by means of thongs inserted under the skin. Visions were not induced each time one fasted; neither were they expected.

It was believed that one's social personality was determined by sacred beings before the birth of the individual and that fasting was a means of renewing these former instructions that were temporarily forgotten while being born and cared for in the village. It was also believed that in the universe there were many sacred people who would adopt as a "son" those who fasted frequently and made offerings to them or who gave feasts to the sacred bundles of the village. A young man was taught to consult not only his own father but all men of his father's clan on matters of a sacred character. If one's sister's son seemed neg-

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lectful and took little interest in securing a "guardian spirit," the mother's brother would tease him and tell him he was bringing dishonor to his clan and suggest that, to be rich and honored, he must begin fasting. He would collect goods for his sister's son and instruct him that he should go out on the hills and fast, using the goods on his return to pay his "clan father" for interpreting the dream. The mother's brother also supervised the fasting of the young boys of ten to fourteen years of age, selecting an isolated place at a short distance from the village where the boys were sheltered in a temporary brush lodge and instructed in the proper procedures for inducing visions.

Children acquired an attitude of respect for the sacred objects of the lodge while young, first by being scolded for playing near the platform on which the bundles were kept, and later by observation of a fixed ritualistic behavior by the parents when the bundles were opened. They were taught that the bundles "protected" them until they were old enough to own "gods" of their own and were informed that their success was in direct proportion to the number and potency of "gods" owned. Children who would inherit or assist in the performance of certain tribal bundle rites received special training beginning when they were ten or twelve years of age. They were also expected to fast often and establish personal bundles based on heir supernatural experiences.

Fasting was a prerequisite to participation in the organized war expeditions. One would conclude from an examination of the mythology that a young man, after his first experience with the supernatural, organized a war expedition immediately and served as leader. In examining the war records of a number of Mandan, it was found that none would have followed a young man receiving his first vision experience and that, even as a member of a recognized war leader's party, he would be "camp tender," bringing wood and water to the camp, preparing the food, and waiting on the leader during the performance of the rites appertaining to warfare. When he was alert and anticipated the needs of the leader and was not lazy, he was promoted to scout and in company with others of that rank was sent out ahead of the main party each morning to look for the enemy or horses. It was while serving as scout that a young man received

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his fundamental training in warfare. In company with other young men, and frequently afoot, whereas the main party was on horseback, they were required to travel ahead, watching from high buttes, and by means of signals to report the presence of an enemy or horses. It was necessary for the scouts to keep in touch with their leader, who, in turn, was intrusted with the duty of relaying information to the main body. New scouts were taught the proper posture when running to prevent premature exhaustion, and there were contests between scouts to determine their relative durability in reaching distant lookout points. The leader of the scouts reported the winners to the leader, who praised them publicly when the party returned to the village. The old women then sang their victory songs while the old men encouraged more fasting.

A sister was taught that fasting while her brother was away on war expeditions would bring him success in "striking the enemy" or capturing horses. She would take quill work with her at daybreak and leave the village for a low hill or mound or recline on a platform in the garden where she would cry for his success, addressing her prayers to all the holy things. If the expedition was long overdue, she would go to the scaffolds of deceased relatives or skull circles to weep, returning to her lodge each evening. Successful war parties returned to the village at daybreak, and she would leave her lodge immediately to meet her brother. If he had captured horses, the best animal was presented to her. This was equivalent to presenting the horse to all the females of his mother's lodge. These females, on the other hand, were the principal mourners if he were killed, and the married sisters were expected to undergo extreme self-inflicted torture by gashing their bodies, cutting off the ends of fingers, cutting their hair, and shortening their dresses.

Their brothers fasted four, seven, or nine days without food or water, remaining outside the village in some secluded spot for the full period of the fast. From time to time, the father would send a clan brother to observe whether his son was endangering his life, and he could stop the fast if in his opinion the young man's self-torture was excessive. A young man returning from fasting which had not induced a vision was given an object from his father's bundle to carry on war expeditions and

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was permitted to sleep near the sacred bundle until he recovered, believing that the bundle would induce visions. In the case of supervised fasting directed by the mother's brother, he defined the rules and terminated the fasting. He also prepared the first food taken by those completing their fast and watched that none ate or drank excessively for a few days.

A young man distinguishing himself as a scout and desiring to advance to warrior status, when learning another war leader was organizing an expedition, would go to his lodge, hoping that he would be invited to join the party. As a warrior there was greater likelihood of capturing horses or striking an enemy. The leader was responsible for the welfare of all those serving under him and selected the members of his party. When the party was large, the leader selected those with the best war records to serve as co-leaders.

Mandan warfare was highly formalized, and there was a strict division of labor. At the top, the leader or Old Wolf directed the party, selecting the scouts and their leader, the Young Wolves or warriors, and the Camp Tenders, and he was responsible to the village but more particularly to the families represented in the party for their welfare. He determined the territory where the enemy would be sought, places to camp, the time to make or break camp, and whether an attack would be made when the enemy was found. A great leader was a successful teacher who instructed his party in methods of "striking the enemy" without loss to his own party. A leader who lost a man was said to have "kicked the stone," which reduced his status until he had "refasted" and led a successful war party.

Returning from an unsuccessful war expedition, the leader would cry as he approached the village, while the other members would walk quietly to their lodges. For many leaders, this would be the last expedition as leader. He would be condemned by the brothers, sisters, and parents of the one killed and would be opposed by them every time he sought advancement in status. He could and frequently did overcome their opposition by going into mourning for the one he was held responsible for. He would gash his legs and cut off a finger which was offered to the Sun. He would set up a tent or build a simple shelter at a distance from the village where he would remain. In the meanwhile, his

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brothers and sisters, assisted by their clan and his age-grade society, would accumulate robes and other property which were given to the lodge group that had lost a member. They were expected to accept the goods which was at first refused "because they loved their relative so much." The unsuccessful war leader's representatives then sought the "village chief," a man who by virtue of his tact in settling quarrels and his generosity in caring for the old was highest in village esteem, and paid him to take his pipe to the grieved relatives, lay it before them, and inform them that they, as relatives and associates of the unsuccessful war leader, begged them to accept it. Since none could refuse a request when a sacred pipe was placed before them, the aggrieved people, both men and women, smoked and accepted the goods to which in the meanwhile had been added horses and other articles of value.

The aggrieved family, feeling compassion for the unsuccessful war leader who had shown, by his act of fasting and his family's lavish display of goods, respect for their lost relative, sent a representative with new clothing to the fasting place, dressed and painted him, and conducted him to their lodge, where he was given the choicest foods to eat. While he was eating, the brothers of the boy who had been killed, brought their best horse and riding equipment to the lodge. When the feast was ended, the unsuccessful warrior, now in good graces with the family, was told to mount. He was led through the village, while the oldest female of the lodge sang the "Praise Songs." If an enemy had been killed at the time one of the party was lost, the "Victory Songs" were then sung and the Scalp Dance rites were performed. The unsuccessful warrior, by his acts of mourning and the payment of goods to the aggrieved family, regained his former status. If he were successful the next time he led a war party, the people said that bad luck will sometimes come even to those most careful to conform to tribal custom, and "never hold it against him." However, a second unsuccessful war expedition was his last as leader. He would not fast again, and having paid for his bad luck once, his relatives and clan advised him to forsake leadership of war parties as he had "kicked the stone." People would say he had not fasted right and would have been afraid to follow him. By giving many

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feasts, he would be respected as an average person, but he would never be able to rise to eminence.

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A young man's first participation in a successful war expedition in which he captured horses and "struck" an enemy was an important occasion in his life and involved practically everyone in the village as well the other villages of the tribe. In the division of his horses, he expressed his respect for those who assisted him during the expedition as well as his affection for his friends and relatives in the village. If he captured a number of horses, among which was an animal of peculiar markings which the leader dreamed of and described before it was found, that animal belonged to the leader. The leader would also receive the first horse captured. Strays went to the first one seeing them regardless of the person capturing them. He would give the camp tender one if he had not already received one. Returning to the village, he would give one horse to his oldest married sister, who would, in turn, give it to her husband to use. This was a means of expressing rivalry between brothers-in-law of the same age. If his sisters were not married, the horse would go to his mother. His sisters would not ordinarily get horses on subsequent occasions unless they came out to meet him. He would give one horse to his father and, if there were any additional animals, would keep them for himself. However, if he had also been successful in striking the enemy while capturing these horses, he would not succeed in keeping any of the horses, for, on the succeeding day while the Scalp Dance was celebrated, an old woman of his father's clan would announce that he was to receive a new name to supplant the one he had received as a baby. He was presented with new moccasins, leggings, and shirt, and he paid her as representative of his father's moiety in horses and other property.

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A young man's reputation was based on his relatives' generosity which was contingent on the wealth and status of his relatives. Learning that he had struck the enemy and knowing one always received a new name that had belonged to a man of the father's moiety, the brothers and sisters accumulated goods for the occasion. They were assisted by members of their clan and young men of his age-grade society. During the Scalp Dance, singing was interrupted while the mother and her

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A man's social status at any one period varied greatly between individuals. It was in part determined by birth, those being born in households having important bundles and a well-balanced household economy and, particularly if there were many brothers and sisters, had a great advantage over those whose households had been broken up by death or divorce. Children of eminent parents were presumed to be better informed than those who had lived from lodge to lodge.

Upon reaching maturity, a man's role in the total ceremonial life of the village and tribe was largely determined by his previous participations in ceremonies. This role followed a generalized tribal pattern which varied little from generation to generation unless unusual situations occurred such as epidemics or severe losses in warfare. A man would usually fast less when he reached maturity, but he would fast if he considered the situation warranted it until he reached old age. If he had bad luck while leading a war expedition, his fasting would often be long. He would even lash his legs with a knife and cut off portions of fingers. When a man was poor or received few presents during the ceremonies or secular dances, he would often fast to draw the attention of the village to his poverty. The people would say that he is fasting to bring good luck to the village and that he was entitled to rewards for his generosity. There was considerable rivalry between individuals, and this was expressed in a number of ways. For instance, when the winter buffalo herds were late in arriving at their grazing grounds along the streams near the villages, the people would suffer considerably from a meat shortage. One who had felt that he had been neglected and had not been receiving appropriate recognition would announce that, when the weather became severe, he would go out and fast on the hills to bring the buffaloes. The village would recognize that fasting under such conditions was a distinct sacrifice. Since the cold weather and storms would cause the buffaloes to seek the sheltered sections along the Missouri River bottoms, one announcing that he would fast during the coldest days when the wind was from the north would time his fasting to coincide with the normal first arrival of the winter herds. Such a person was said to place the welfare of the village above consideration for his personal comfort and

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554 785 received goods in abundance from people of the village, particularly persons of his children's clan.

554 785 789 Since the Mandan lived in a territory of uncertain rainfall, the crops were frequently endangered by drought. There were formal rainmaking ceremonies, but these frequently failed to bring rain. A man would frequently announce that he was fasting on a certain day to bring the rains. If rains came before the fasting began, he received credit for them and was paid generously for his services. When the rains had not come on the day when fasting was to begin, he would go to some designated spot to fast, singing his holy songs while watching the sky for the approaching clouds, which he would endeavor to direct toward the gardens. Anyone could fast to bring rains to the gardens or buffaloes near the village, but in general these extra rites were performed by persons lacking formal tribal bundles and were people who felt that they had not received proper recognition for their successes in warfare, horse-stealing, or in finding the buffalo herds. They had little to lose; failing to bring buffaloes or rain, they were thought none the less of for their failure and were praised if they succeeded.

785 There was a certain amount of fasting when bad luck persisted. When on eagle-trapping expeditions, some men would catch eagles while others did not. One who had been especially lucky would volunteer the use of his pit to one who had failed to catch birds. If the latter's bad luck persisted, he would fast and even have thongs inserted through his skin for dragging buffalo skulls.

224 554 788 There was a certain degree of specialization of males in a Mandan village. Those who had acquired an aptitude of finding the buffalo herds were relied upon for their good judgment in supervising the summer buffalo-hunting expeditions. Even those who eventually attained the status of leader were expected to attain that position by degrees. He was first taken out as scout to assist in locating the herds and later as leader of the hunters when he was expected to perform simple rites immediately before the attack was made on the herd. He would pray to the buffaloes not to send the party bad luck, and, when the surround had been made, he would make an offering of sage and feathers from the speckled eagle to the buffaloes by tying

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could go to the pile brought in by anyone if her husband was slow in returning with his meat. There was no moiety division of the animals as was employed with the corral. Everyone was expected to work curing the meat, men and women alike. Older men would haul poles for scaffolds and set them up. Some husbands would be out as scouts and could not butcher. Crows Heart had been on a number of summer hunts and said that he never made a special effort to help his lodge group. As soon as he unloaded his meat, it was taken by anyone who was ready to cure it. Scattercorn said that one did not ask permission to take a hunter's meat and that one was more likely to be criticized for not working hard enough than for appearing selfish. All my informants were in agreement that quarrels over division of the meat and hides were unknown.

The leader and the leader of the hunters were entitled to the tongues, but these were shared with others having the buffalo as a god, while some tongues were given to old people. The evenings were spent in dancing and singing.

There was a marked increase of fasting during the summer hunts. Many thought that they secured better visions when fasting away from the village. Others thought that it would be highly desirable to fast far from the village to get visions from supernatural beings that might not come to the villages to "adopt a son." The older men taught that the young buffaloes lived in certain buttes and that fasting while out on the summer buffalo range would increase the next year's calf crop. To perpetuate the buffalo supply, they made offerings of speckled eagle feathers and calicoes to these buttes and encouraged the young men to fast near them. The leader would receive many valuable presents from young men seeking visions at that time while praying for their success when the thongs were being inserted through the skin. Dragging heads of recently killed buffaloes through the camp was a customary practice. Crows Heart thought that most young men who had recently fasted in the Okipa ceremony and had not received visions would repeat their vision quest at that time. The hunt would be terminated in time to reach the village before the corn was in the milk stage. Usually a second performance of the Okipa was held a short time after returning.

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tacts with most families, since a person was not considered important who could not argue in council for a certain point of view based on traditional action of the group. Group action was in a large measure regulated by custom. These patterns of behavior were in a large measure perpetuated by the storyteller. Anyone seeking the position of chief would need a considerable knowledge of tribal history to attain that status. No amount of success in warfare or performance of ceremonies would in themselves have been sufficient. It was this extra knowledge of tribal lore that distinguished them as leaders. Actually, whenever one was the recipient of goods and honors from another, a new and intimate relationship was established between them. Those who had provided many feasts and acquired a considerable knowledge of tribal lore were ultimately selected to become the leaders of the various groups.

Men who had reached middle age were called on to insert the thongs for a "son" who was preparing to fast and to pray for his success. They were expected to supervise the fasting and have it terminated when there was a possibility that the "son" was carrying his fasting to excess. Those who had good war records or had made significant contributions toward village welfare in other ways offered many feasts to the older men hoping that, by so doing, they would be named village leaders. A man would announce renewal feasts to his ceremonial bundle from time to time and call in those who had similar bundles. Some would assist in removing arrows and opening wounds or doctor in other ways when the occasion warranted.

Men of middle age belonged to the Black Mouth Society, which was intrusted with the organization and protection of the village. This was the most highly organized men's society. It met every two or three days and received its instructions from the older men meeting in council. It was their duty, whenever the village was in danger of attack, to see that none left the village without permission. Each member carried a club carved according to his own individual preference, and he was expected to use it if anyone was found violating the rules. If the announcer called through the village that the people were not to leave the village and anyone was seen leaving, the Black Mouths would drive him back. Crows Heart remembered a

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888 561 562 hunting. Women holding rights in the various Holy Women bundles also met whenever a medicine feast was given. Their rights were individually acquired by assisting their husbands or brothers in the bundle purchase. Some of their number were members of the Goose or the White Buffalo Cow societies.

888 562 The older people performed an important role in the ceremonies so long as they were not too feeble to get around. Women who had assisted others at childbirth became doctors after the menopause and could substitute for a man in a great many of the societies. In many ceremonies they were the medium through which the traditions and bundles were transmitted to a legitimate male heir.

888 785 755 Fasting was generally completed by the time one reached fifty years of age. In case of repeated bad luck or failure to attain a definite goal, fasting for short periods was practiced during a ceremony. When an epidemic of sore eyes broke out at Fishhook Village, one old woman fasted to seek relief from her affliction. Since her eye trouble was cleared up shortly afterward, quite a number of middle-aged and old people fasted to cure the ailment. Calf Woman said that more than half of them got relief.

888 431 787 People who were past middle age and who had been relatively successful all their lives would frequently have bad dreams in which they were being killed and cut up by the enemy or were drowning. It was believed that one could forestall this misfortune by giving away all his property. He would call in those who had been successful and were owners of important tribal bundles to give away his property, consisting of robes and bedding, household utensils, dogs, and horses, until the family was utterly destitute. One doing this would walk through the village repeating the dream. When the bad dream failed to materialize within the designated time, such people were said to be holy and as such were called the "protectors of the village." In appreciation of their sacrifices, each household group was expected to contribute something toward their comfort.

888 421 124 The old people had privately owned game pits and were entitled to the animals found in them. According to tradition, before horses were acquired, pits were widely used and owned by households. Ruins of game pits are still to be seen in consider-

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The first evening.—The ceremony began in the evening. The Okipa Maker carried in all the goods he had succeeded in collecting during the year and heaped them at the back of the lodge. Then he carried in a bag of specially prepared cornballs known as "four in one" because they contained ground corn, beans, squash, and sunflowers. He also brought in a sack of pemmican. A singer brought in a dry buffalo hide rolled up like a cylinder to serve as a drum.[14]

For weeks previous to the performance of the Okipa, the clan leaders, old men, and the tribal medicine bundle-owners talked to the young men, telling them of the importance of seeking visions during the Okipa. Older clan brothers advised specific young men to fast. Men who had been successful warriors, hunters, or doctors attributed much of their good luck to the powers that they had acquired while fasting or hanging from the roof of the Okipa lodge by means of leather thongs fastened through their skin. The result was that a larger number of young men came to the Okipa lodge to fast through the four days of the ceremony. After uniting with the Hidatsa, many young Mandans preferred to fast and go through the torture feature while on eagle-trapping or buffalo-hunting expeditions as the women of the Hidatsa and Arikara tribes did not observe the same rules. The fasters came in directly after the Okipa Maker had completed carrying in the robes, cornballs, and pemmican, and ranged in age from boys of eight years to middle-aged men of thirty-five years. Each was naked and painted according to his own inclination and carried a shield and bow in one hand and the father's medicine bundle in the other.[15] The quiver with the bow and arrows in it was hung back of the faster, and the medicine bundle was attached to a small twig stuck into the ground in front of him. Each carried in a buffalo skull for a pillow and sage brush for a bed. All the fasters arranged themselves around the wall, the Tamisik-WaxikEna division being on the west side, and the other half on the east

14. This dry hide was symbolic of the first Okipa in the Dog Dens when only a dry hide served as a drum through the whole ceremony performed by Hoita. For the west-side Mandans it represented one of the periods of tribal history before the turtle drums were acquired.

15. Many had no medicine bundles but brought one belonging to the father, thinking that they might have good luck thereafter.

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side. The lodge would be full of fasters the first night. Men who had had good dreams came in only to fast a short time.

The hide drum was to the west side of the southwest post

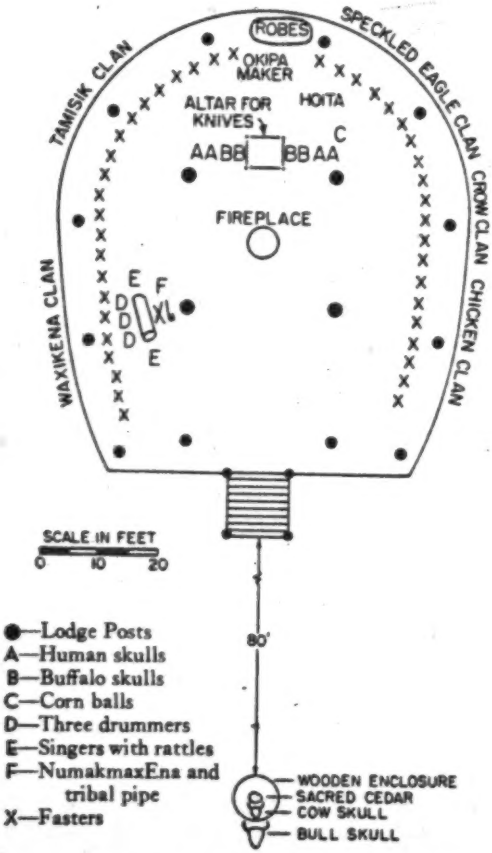

FIG. 14.—Seating arrangement for first night of Okipa

near where the fasters of the WaxikEna clan sat, and the three drummers, called the Blue Herons (Hox'ka), sat just back of it.[16] The three drummers were painted red with eagle feathers in their hair and had objects from their own medicine bundles worn around their ankles. Two men serving as rattlers sat at

16. They were called Blue Heron because during the mythological period these birds were called in to pick up the worms beaten from the hide.

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worn like an apron. He wore the hair shed from a buffalo over his head and carried Lone Man's pipe and pemmican balls, which he placed on the ground in front of the drummers. Then he walked to the south side of the sacred cedar and stood on the buffalo skull he had previously placed there. Grasping the wooden planks inclosing the cedar with both hands and pressing his forehead against the wood, he asked Lone Man to hear him and send the people all they asked for, to bring the buffaloes near the villages, and to keep all bad luck away.

At the completion of the Okipa Maker's prayer and while he stood grasping the wooden inclosure, the drummers and rattlers began singing; this was the signal for the fasters to come out. They were dressed in their robes with the hair side out and hooked at each other in imitation of a herd of buffaloes as they danced toward the sacred cedar in a double line,[19] one line going to the east of the sacred cedar, the other to the west side. There they formed a straight line on the south side and danced forward and backward in front of the Okipa Maker, who continued his weeping, addressing the first Lone Man to help the people. When the drummers changed the song to one with a rapid tempo, the fasters and the Okipa Maker returned to the Okipa lodge, imitating a herd of buffaloes as they entered the lodge following the Okipa Maker.

The drummers, Okipa Maker, and fasters came out to dance four times the first day, and the procedure was the same on each occasion. They came out at sunrise, before noon, at mid-afternoon, and just before sunset.

Just before dark, after dancing outside had finished for the day, women brought willow firewood to the Okipa lodge, where it was placed in two piles on each side of the door. Women of the WaxikEna-Tamisik moiety placed theirs on the west side, while the other clans placed theirs on the east side. Male representatives of the two divisions of the tribe carried in the wood for the fire, since women were not permitted inside the lodge. The small boys and many of the young men left the Okipa lodge at the end of the first day, usually leaving from thirty to fifty fasters who intended to remain the entire four days without

19. Each half represented one of the moieties. The fasters were also symbolic of the animals held captive in Dog Den.

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food or water and to participate in the torture features. After the Mandan united with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, there were usually as many Hidatsas as Mandans fasting, but the moiety arrangement of fasters was observed. In fact, Hidatsas gave the ceremony as often as Mandans at this time.

The turtle drums remained in the lodges of their custodians during the first day of the ceremony. These turtles were considered tribal property in the larger sense, and the WaxikEna clan were their custodians. WaxikEna clansmen paid to hold custodianship which could be revoked by clan action. Individuals of the WaxikEna clan were willing to buy the right to keep them when the Okipa was not being performed, otherwise they remained in the Okipa lodge under the charge of the old man living there. Keepers of the turtles treated them like other medicine bundles, making feasts for them and praying to them on various occasions.

At sunset the Lone Man impersonator dressed up in his ceremonial outfit and went for the turtles. While the Mandan were living in two villages near Fort Clark, the turtles were kept at Nuptadi Village. He went to the owner of the big turtle, the leader of the turtles, and asked him for this turtle first. It was believed that he could predict the abundance of buffaloes through the year by the weight of the turtle drums for, it was said, that the turtles were heavy when the buffalo herds were going to be near the village. People were not allowed to cross his trail when he carried the turtles to the Okipa lodge. The three turtles replaced the rolled-up hide as drums that evening. Everyone awaited word from inside the Okipa lodge concerning the weight of the turtle drums. Soon after the turtles were in their places, the old man of the WaxikEna clan who was custodian of the Okipa lodge called through the village that "the turtles are very heavy and the buffaloes will be near the village so all the people can have enough to eat."

Each of the drummers continued through the ceremony, using the turtle drums. These drums were moved four times in the evening and reached the east side of the lodge at midnight, where they remained until sunrise.

Second day.—Before sunrise, young men not having an active part in the ceremony brought in green willow branches to be

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the whole ceremony. The Bulls danced directly toward the sacred cedar and formed a circle around it, then formed in pairs to mark out the four cardinal points, and, finally separated to mark the eight directions (see Fig. 15). A change in rhythm was a signal for the Bulls to return to the Okipa lodge.

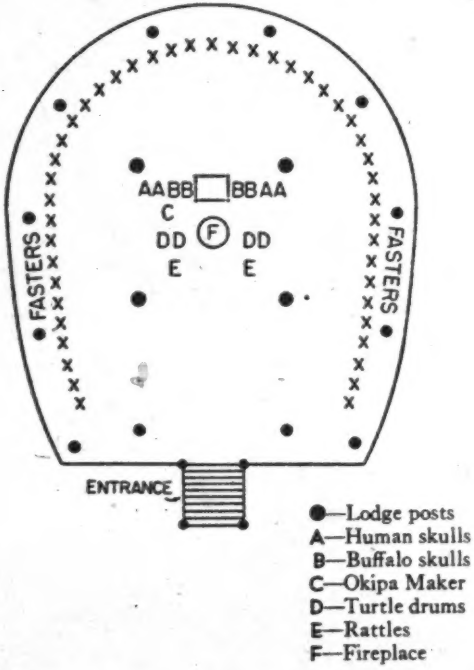

FIG. 16.—Lodge plan prior to torture feature. (After Catlin.)

The drummers, rattlers, Okipa Maker, and the eight Bull Dancers came out eight times the second day and repeated the same performance. The fasters came out only once the second day, following the first appearance of the Bulls. They formed a row at the south side of the sacred cedar and were dressed in buffalo robes with the hair side out. They returned into the lodge last and did not come out again that day (see Fig. 16).

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Fasters began to present themselves for the torture feature[23]

23. Cutting off the fingers in the Okipa gradually died out and was uncommon after 1837, though it continued to be a practice when mourning a death or when fasting on a hill or in a remote place. It was said that a man in a dream was instructed that the fingers were needed to handle firearms.

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on the second day. Each candidate selected a man of his father's clan to cut the holes through the skin and insert the skewers. These men were selected by each candidate before the ceremony, and the knife to be used was given to the Lone Man the evening of the "Going In" ceremony. As each candidate stepped forward and presented himself, the clan "father" picked up a knife from the altar and cut the holes for the skewers. Two skewers were inserted through the skin on the back or on the breast by which the candidate was suspended in midair by a lariat fastened over a pole of the Okipa lodge. Other skewers were inserted through the skin of the legs to which buffalo skulls were hung. When there were enough candidates, one was hung up while the Bulls were outside dancing in order that each Bull in returning to his place in the lodge could hook the sufferer (see Fig. 17). During the later years at Like-a-Fishhook Village, a corn scaffold was erected at the entrance to the Okipa lodge, and those tortured were often suspended from its beams where they were hooked about by the Bull Dancers when leaving or entering the lodge.[24] When the candidate became unconscious, he was lowered to the ground and left to regain consciousness without being molested by any of the observers. It was believed that experiences with the supernatural when acquired at that time were the most genuine and the richest ones.[25]

A midday meal was prepared for the Bull Dancers. The women preparing the meal wore their robes with the hair side out to resemble buffaloes. They motioned to the lodge where the food was cooked, and the Bulls ran there instead of going into the Okipa lodge. After finishing their meal, the Bulls carried food to the Hoita, Lone Man, Blue Heron, and the Rattlers. The Okipa Maker and fasters were not permitted to eat food or drink water, although they could smoke whenever they wished.

Preparations were made during the evening for the third day,

24. At the last performances of the Okipa, a tall pole was set in the ground between the ceremonial lodge and cedar with a rope hanging down. Those going through the torture feature were tied to the rope by means of thongs in their flesh but were not suspended.

25. After uniting with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, the torture elements and associated vision quests of the Okipa declined in importance. Those seeking visions preferred to suffer in isolated places, since the necessary rules of conduct were being broken, particularly by women, in the consolidated village.

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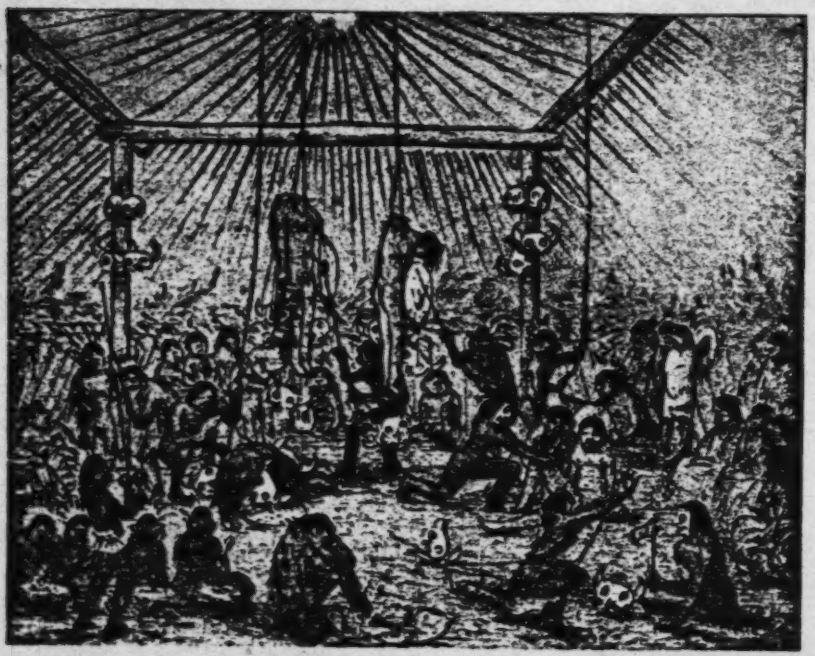

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FIG. 17.—Altar arrangement and torture feature. (After Catlin.)

[p. 136]

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proached the young women first. Then he advanced toward the Bulls, dancing around the sacred cedar as though smelling them. Each time the performers came out of the Okipa lodge, Foolish One approached the two men dressed like women, one being sensible, the other foolish. First he approached the sensible girl[28] and by signs told her that he loved her and offered her his corn-husk necklace, but she would refuse to have anything to do with him. Then he directed his attention to the other girl,[29] who gladly accepted his offers. The spectators laughed at this comical performance. He performed during four of the twelve times the dancers came out. At the end of the fourth dance, his staff was broken in entering the Okipa lodge by trying to enter with the rod crosswise of the door. The women, then losing all fear of him, rushed at him, broke his staff into little pieces, and drove him out of the village, pelting him with rocks, dirt, and pieces of wood. He ran to the river, where he washed off his paint while two men, also having Foolish One rights, who had followed him, gathered up the presents and tied up his cap and necklace in a buffalo-calf hide to resemble a doll. This doll was then lashed to a pole before the Okipa lodge to be an offering to the Foolish One who lived in the Sun.

The women brought food for the animals at midday and threw it to them while they danced. The food for the Bull Dancers was kept in an earth lodge near by. When the Bulls saw a woman approaching with the hair side of her robe out, they knew their food was ready. All the animal impersonators rushed toward the lodge where the Bulls were to eat, and there was general disorder. The Antelopes, being faster runners than the Buffaloes, who were burdened with the masks and willows, reached the door first. Two men, one painted to represent a large hawk, the other a bald eagle, were stationed on each side of the doorway with stone hammers to keep the Antelopes out, but some usually got in.

Fasters began presenting themselves to be tortured when the dancers had come out the fifth time. A long pole had been rigged up south of the sacred cedar, and a faster was fastened to the

28. She represented Corn Silk, who went above to marry the Moon, as well as all the other kindly female deities.

29. She represented Cheyenne Woman, who married the Sun.

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lariat hanging down from the top of the pole by means of skewers through his chest. He ran around this pole for the duration of one appearance of the dancers and was then cut loose.[30] A different faster was attached to the pole each time that the Bull Dancers were outside dancing.

The two men representing the night or stars led the dancers on their last appearance on the third day, taking very short steps so that they scarcely moved along, and timed the dance to finish just as the first evening star (*no'hąka tawi'hąka*, or "grandson") appeared after sunset. The two men at dusk returned to the Okipa lodge and spent the night in places just back of the Okipa Maker.

There were usually a number of women fasting on top of the entrance to the Okipa lodge. They came there the first night and left at sunset of the third day. These women sought various benefits; some sought relief for illness; others sought success for relatives about to leave or then away from home on the warpath.

Fourth day: "The Hunting Day."—All those who had gone through the torture feature on the second and third days left the Okipa lodge the night before the fourth day. There were only four Bull Dancers on this day who were men selected because of their great size and bravery in battle. The Bulls were painted and dressed as on the preceding days. Young men brought fresh willows from the sand bars to decorate the Okipa lodge. Those who were to impersonate the hunters prepared willow hoops with rawhide lacing across them and poles, such as were used in the Hoop and Pole game, which they took into the Okipa lodge to use in the hunting rites.

The fasters did not come out for the first dance on the fourth day; only the Okipa Maker, the drummers, the rattlers, and the four Bull Dancers appeared to dance four times before returning to the Okipa lodge. The Bulls came out once for each of the

30. This account of the Okipa was supplied in part by Scattercorn, to whom her father, Moves Slowly, described the ceremony as held in his boyhood. She tells me that when her father was young the torturing was done in the medicine lodge and no pole was set up outside. The use of a pole suggests Hidatsa NaxpikE influence. Maximilian, as reported in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Thwaites, XXIII, 332, says that some hung over a bank. Boller (*op. cit.*, p. 104) reports a pole was put up south of the sacred cedar.

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clans on the last day, and the clan names were recited in the ritual.[31]

The Okipa Maker and the remaining fasters underwent various tortures on the last day just before the Bull Dancers came out the final time. Often there were not more than two fasters remaining with the Okipa Maker, and at times the Okipa Maker was the only one left to be tortured. Two men of the father's clan pierced the flesh for the skewers and suspended the candidates above the ground. Buffalo skulls were hung from their legs. A man who had killed an enemy could wear an enemy's skull around his neck. When a faster became unconscious, he was taken down.

After the sixteenth dance, one of the drummers came out with rattles made of buffalo hide, followed by the four Bulls, who danced in a weaving course around the sacred cedar. The Hoita came last with two gourd rattles. The dancers, when on the east side of the cedar, addressed the song to Mother Corn as mother, then went to the west side to address the song to Thunderbird as father,[32] after which all retired to the Okipa lodge.

Inside the lodge four songs were sung. These were the songs used when repairing the sacred cedar. After each song the turtles were lifted to determine how heavy they were, and each time the turtles were moved all the young men in the lodge stamped their feet in imitation of the buffalo herds which had also stamped on being released from the Dog Den Butte.

After the turtles had been moved four times, with the stamping of feet accompanying each move, the time for the "freeing of the animals" and the "animal hunt" had come.[33] The Hoita led the way from the Okipa lodge, carrying Lone Man's pipe. The drummers followed, carrying the three turtles which they placed in their customary place east of the sacred cedar. The Four Bulls followed Hoita, who in turn led the hunters with

31. Six extinct clans were dropped from these rites while performing the ceremony at the Fort Clark villages.

32. Many of the songs have words that are not understood. In this song only the words "Thunderbird Father" and "Mother Corn Mother" were recognized by the uninformed.

33. In the mythology, when Hoita came from Dog Den Butte, where he had the animals imprisoned, and found his son officiating in Lone Man's village, he agreed to free the animals so that the people could hunt them and resolved that in the future he would work with Lone Man for the benefit of the tribe. Thereafter the two men assisted each other in directing the Okipa ceremony.

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their poles and hoops. Hoita took the Okipa Maker's place south of the cedar, and the Bulls stood in a row south of him. All the hunters formed in a line south of the Bulls, and Lone Man stood alone south of the hunters. The participants faced the entrance of the Okipa lodge. The Bulls danced toward Hoita, who sent them back four times, symbolizing the four times scouts were sent from Dog Den Butte to report on the condition of the Mandan whom Hoita believed to be starving. Each time the hunters, using the poles as spears, charged the Bulls, who were bleeding from many wounds. Wolf Chief explained that it was a very painful performance, as his legs were pierced in many places.

After the hunt, the Four Bulls stood at the entrance to the Okipa lodge and formed at the four cardinal points. Each bellowed in imitation of a bull in the following order, east, west, north, and south. Then the Hoita directed them to the sacred cedar, where each of the Bulls stood at the cardinal points and again bellowed, in the same order.[34] The Four Bulls represented the buffaloes from every direction as well as the buffaloes for the four seasons. The north buffalo called for the winter buffalo, the east buffalo for the spring buffalo, the south buffalo for the summer buffalo, and the west buffalo for the autumn buffalo.

After the calling of the buffaloes from the four directions was completed, the remaining portion of the ceremony progressed rapidly. The drummers began beating rapidly, and the hunters formed a circle about the sacred cedar, holding to the willow hoops. The Four Bulls threw off their masks and danced around the circle as rapidly as possible. Each remaining faster was led out of the Okipa lodge by two of his father's clansmen[35] who had the right half of their bodies painted blue and the left side red. They held straps wrapped around the faster's arms. Each faster had one or more buffalo skulls dragging from skewers fastened through the skin; those who had struck an enemy were permitted to wear a skull as a necklace. The father's clansmen led or

34. The sacred cedar represented Lone Man's body, and this act symbolized the eternal friendship of Lone Man and Hoita.

35. Only men of good war records, who were entitled to paint as indicated above, could participate. The painting of the body in two colors, blue on the right side and red on the left side or comparable painting of leggings and shirt, indicated that one had killed an enemy far from home or had been the first or second to strike a lone enemy far from home.

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dragged the young man around the sacred cedar in a clockwise direction as fast as they could travel until the victim fell unconscious. When the last faster fell to the ground, the drumming ceased, and the hunters threw their hoops into the air. All the fasters returned to the Okipa lodge, where those on the west-side moiety rubbed their wounds with buffalo marrow while those of the opposite moiety rubbed theirs with ground yellow corn.

The Lone Man carried all the knives and sharp-edged tools to the bank of the Missouri River, where they were thrown into the water as an offering to the Grandfather Snake. A few robes and seven corn balls were offered to the river at the same time.

A sweat ceremony, in which all the officers with their paraphernalia took part, completed the ceremony.

The goods collected by the Okipa Maker were given to the Lone Man, Hoita, Bulls, Drummers, Rattlers, to the characters represented during the "Everything Comes Back Day," and to the father's clansmen who prepared the Okipa Maker for the last ordeal. The Okipa Maker and the fasters made medicine bundles according to instructions received from the supernatural beings which had appeared to them during the ceremony, and each faster received a section of a sand-bar willow as an article for his personal medicine bundle.

The following description of the Okipa ceremony by Maximilian in 1834 will illustrate the character of the ceremony as performed at that time. Three years later smallpox killed roughly 80 per cent of the tribe, but the ceremony as described by eyewitnesses underwent only a few minor changes. The number of singers was reduced to three; a torture pole was erected south of the sacred cedar; the Bull Dancers were painted differently, the abdomen being painted with alternate stripes; there were fewer animal representatives on the third day due to the extinction of certain bundle lines. Except for these minor changes, the ceremony was essentially the same as performed in 1834. When the Mandan joined the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, men of the latter tribe sometimes gave the ceremony and bought minor offices, but the principal officers were Mandans. The supernatural beings enumerated by Maximilan are also readily identified from my informant's accounts.

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Chapter V

PERSONAL BUNDLES AND VISION EXPERIENCES

POSSESSION of tribal bundles inherited from the preceding generation was not the good fortune of all men and women. Some were unable to acquire hereditary tribal bundles because they were not eligible either through birth or through marriage. Since the oldest son usually inherited his parents' bundle or bundles through the mother's lineage, younger sons and the daughters could, at most, hold partial rights through assistance in the transfer ceremonies and later became the titular bundle-owner should the older brother die. There are numerous instances of bundle transfers to a daughter and son-in-law in cases where there were no sons, providing the daughter and family were occupying her parents' lodge and especially when tribal custom prescribed clan inheritance of the bundle.

All males and females, regardless of bundles then owned or expected to be inherited at a later date, sought personal powers of the supernatural during their younger years. In exceptional instances the quest of supernatural power was continued until forty-five or fifty years of age. Fasting began at eight or nine, the parents recommending fasting and pointing out distinguished men who had been successful because of visions acquired through that practice. Parents never scolded or urged a son to fast. It was felt that a child's reputation was predetermined by the supernatural and that he would learn his destiny through the desire to fast. Parents would repeat their own experiences with the supernatural, either vision-inspired or through purchase. Small boys would be advised to fast a day or two during the Okipa ceremony to begin with and extend the length of their fasting at subsequent performances of that ceremony. Only four occasions provided formalized fasting. These were: during the Okipa ceremony, while trapping eagles, while

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on war expeditions, and during the summer buffalo hunt. Of these four, only during one, the Okipa ceremony, was fasting done within the village. This is in sharp contrast with the Hidatsa custom of fasting during many bundle-transfer ceremonies. Crows Heart preferred to fast away from the village, thinking that women were less inclined to conform to tribal custom, which made dreams hard to get.

A man who advised and instructed his own sons in the benefits to be attained from fasting would be abusive with his sister's sons whom he did not believe were making enough effort to secure supernatural guardians. He would use the argument that it would enhance the prestige of the clan. He would talk of an occasion when other young men would be fasting in the Okipa and state that he would expect the "younger brother" to be there, and he would give him goods to pay the officers for that privilege. The older male members of the various clans were especially watchful to see that the sections reserved for the clans were well filled. The other clans laughed at those who had only a few fasting during the ceremony.

Not all who fasted either alone beyond the village limits or during the Okipa did so with the expectation of having a vision. Nor were visions received each time. Self-privation was believed to please the supernatural, and both individual and general well-being was the natural consequence. Although boys began to fast at the age of eight or nine because they were advised to, the serious seeking of guardian spirits or vision experiences was not made until the property-owning age was reached and shortly after marriage.

Three methods were employed in gaining supernatural experiences. Some would fast in various ways; others would inflict torture; and still others would make presents of valued property. Of the three, offering of valued goods was considered the hardest to do, since it required much work to amass the goods.

Self-torture administered during the Okipa ceremony was more severe than that practiced in any of the Hidatsa ceremonies; otherwise the customs of the two tribes differed little as to severity of the measures employed. The father's clansmen prepared the young man for the torture feature by securing and inserting the thongs. Suspension of the one tortured was not em-

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ployed by the Hidatsa in the NaxpikE ceremony, the Sun Dance equivalent of that tribe, as was the case with the Mandans in their Okipa ceremony, where the one tortured was suspended until he became unconscious. This practice was modified in later years to conform with the Hidatsa custom.

The custom of cutting off fingers in mourning was universally practiced by the women but rarely by the men. The sacrifice of fingers as a means of self-torture was practiced by men and in only a few instances by women who, upon the death of a relative through warfare, sought by self-torture to revenge the relative's slaying at a time when her brothers contemplated a retaliatory raid on the enemy's camp during which time she would be fasting. Those seeking visions used a buffalo skull to cut the fingers on when a vision was sought.

Four Bears' fasting record at the base of a large oak tree in which a raven had its young, to learn the name of the Arikara who had killed his brother, is still related as an example of the power which the supernatural had to clarify past deeds and bring success to the one adopted.

SCATTERCORN'S NARRATIVE OF FOUR BEARS[1]

A Mandan named Four Bears sent his younger brother out with the horses to a spot farther from the village, where there was more grass. The Arikara came and killed the boy. The men found him with a spear stuck through his body, which was a challenge to Four Bears to come and fight if he thought he was lucky. Four Bears went out and brought the boy back to the village and saved the spear. He had already fasted in the Okipa and had many gods, but he began fasting again. He would fast and cry for seven days and nights without food and then come back to the village to rest. Then he would go out fasting again. He fasted near a high tree in which the ravens had a nest. He cut the flesh on his chest and inserted sticks with which he hung from the tree until he fell exhausted. He cut gashes in his legs and arms. One time he cut off a finger and offered it to the People Above and the raven that had its nest there.

The bird said, "It is an easy thing. You will find the man who killed your brother." The raven promised him that he could also bring rain. The bird added, "The one who killed your brother is named Bear Necklace, and he is the one you should kill."

In those days the dogs had names, so a clan father of Four Bears brought a dog to Four Bears to name, and he gave it the name Bear Necklace even before he killed the man. When Four Bears killed the Arikara without losing a man, and everything happened just as he had said the raven had predicted, he was highly respected.

1. This incident is mentioned in George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I (Philadelphia, 1857), 238–41.

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When he returned to the village, people of his father's clan took away his gun, bow and arrows, and knife. He was required to pay in robes to get them back. The more one paid on these occasions, the higher he was regarded.

Scattercorn used the story of Big Coat to illustrate the severity of self-torture:

When Big Coat was eight years old, the Nuptadi Village was destroyed by the Sioux, and he was taken prisoner. When he was older, he escaped with his mother and came back to the Mandan. Thinking of the treatment of his people, he vowed that he would get a guardian spirit that was real strong so that he could kill many Sioux. He first went out to fast when he was seventeen years old. At first he only fasted four days at a time, and many animals offered him help. Then he began to fast seven days to get still greater gods. All the people began to recognize his ambitions and say that he would surely be lucky and become a great leader who would do much good some day. He began to cut off his fingers and offer them to the Sun, Moon, and big birds of the sky. He cut off three fingers of each hand, leaving only the thumb and middle finger of each hand which he needed to use the bow and arrow. He cut gashes in his legs and arms. He even cut off his flesh and offered it to the Holy Women.[2] Before he stopped fasting, he had nearly everything as a guardian. He was always successful when leading war parties.

Offerings of fingers and flesh were made chiefly to the Sun, but included the other characters represented in the Sun bundles, which were the Moon, Old Woman Above, Woman Above (sister of the Sun), and the Holy Women. Sun was a cannibal and was believed to eat the human flesh offered to him.

Fasting and self-torture were practiced when on eagle-trapping expeditions.[3] The leader expected the younger men to volunteer. Dragging buffalo skulls by means of thongs through the skin of the back or suspension from trees or banks were the usual methods employed. Others drew wood to camp by means of these thongs. Fasting was not employed regularly at these camps except for short periods, since, to be successful, more time was consumed than in self-torture. When trapping was poor, many advanced middle-aged men would fast and cry to bring success. Self-torture was employed regularly when on war expeditions, but fasting was not practiced, since there was not time for the party to wait several days in one spot. Generally they were hung over a bank or from a tree. The thongs were inserted by one of the father's clan.

Dragging of buffalo skulls was done when in the summer vil-

2. These were his father's gods.
3. See chap. vii below.

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lage, during marches in summer buffalo hunting, in eagle-trapping camps, or at the winter camp. This was the most common type of self-torture, since it was easier to induce a dream from the buffaloes. Human-skull circles were considered desirable places to fast for those who were making offerings of flesh or fingers to the Sun. Skull circles which had been prepared by owners of People Above bundles (the Sun, Moon, and their mother being the principal supernatural beings represented in those bundles) were considered particularly desirable.

The number of times one had fasted or inflicted self-torture was as much a part of one's record as the number of enemy killed or struck in battle, and both were related during ceremonial feasts. Those who had given the Okipa were especially respected, since the torturing of the Okipa Maker was even more severe than for the other fasters. There was the added fact that the Okipa Maker had sacrificed so much property that at the termination of the ceremony his family was entirely destitute and remained so until those who felt obligated to lend assistance sent help. Every normal male inflicted self-torture several times during early manhood. Everyone was expected to fast and be tortured at least once during the Okipa ceremony, although some were tortured annually for a number of years. Broken Ax, a Mandan, gave the Okipa eight times, and not once did he have a dream. He gave the ceremony, not from vision instruction, but because no others had dreamed of the Okipa.

Crows Heart told of instances when men fasted outside at night during the coldest weather. They would tie a lariat to a stake driven into the bank and call men of the father's clan to insert the thongs. They would hang over the bank until their clan fathers feared for their lives and brought them into camp. Others would remove all their clothing and walk around camp until nearly frozen.

Calf Woman told of an instance of a man dying as a result of fasting. She said, "People don't get visions every time they fast and don't expect to. Even though the gods send no instructions, they show their appreciation by sending good luck. Black Body, the husband of Turtle Woman who is still living, started for Saddle Butte to fast but decided to fast at the river instead. He fixed himself a place to fast and rolled up in his blanket. During

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the night something pulled his blanket off, and he was frightened. He ran back to the village and died shortly afterward of pneumonia." 785

CROWS HEART'S REMINISCENCES AND PERSONAL EXPERIENCES

When a man has a real dream, everything that is going to happen comes to him in his dream. Hairy Coat [owner of a People Above bundle], fasted nine days and everything he did came to him in his dreams. An animal came to him in his dream and said, "You have suffered long enough, and I am going to send you home now. I will give you one enemy, and you can go out and bring in his scalp." The Mandan did all this fasting to get scalps just as you white men are always working to get money. 785 787 159 223

I was twenty-three years old when I first went out to trap eagles. When the lodge was ready, the men went in. That night I knew the leader would suggest that someone should suffer for the birds. That day I looked around and found a sharp bank. On top of the bank I drove a sharp stake and tied a long lariat to it as securely as I could. I knew that the Old Male Black Bear [leader of eagle-trapping party] would suggest that I go out on the top of the hills to cry as long as I could, so I did this to be ready. When I finished driving the stake, I came back and got two men of my father's clan, one being the Good Shot, to go out with me to cut holes through the skin of my chest with an arrow and insert two sticks each two inches long through the holes. After they did it, they said the bank was too high to get down alone and that they would put the rope around my breast to let me down. I told them to leave me alone and go back to camp. 785 159 223

When they left, the lariat [30–35 feet long] was coiled up by the stake. I crawled over the edge and fell to the end of the rope. I got such a jerk that I lost my senses. When I came to, I found myself still hanging down. I cried and ran until I made a trail along the sharp edge. Then the weight became less painful.

That night there was a heavy frost. I cried all the time. I kept running, and it was very cold. I began at dark and suffered until about ten o'clock, when two of the hunters came after me. When they got there, they caught the rope and pulled me up to the top. They tried to take the sticks out, but the swellings were so great that they could not get them loose. I had to carry the rope and sticks in my arms to camp.

When we got there, the head man laid me up where the buffalo skull was. He used a big bunch of buffalo hair to thaw out the swelling, and then the sticks came out. After the sticks were out, I went back to bed, but the swelling extended from my navel to my chin. I rolled without sleeping until nearly daybreak. I could not sleep, so I got up early to see the flag on the hill. I wanted to see if we had the right kind of wind to go to the pits.

I found that we had the right kind of wind, came back to camp, wakened the others, and told them the wind was in the west, the right direction for trapping. My breast was so swollen I had to put the rope for carrying the bait around my forehead when walking to the pit. I put my bait where it was supposed to be and sat there in the pit looking up through the covering. Soon I heard a noise and looked up. There was a large eagle coming down. He sat on

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top of my bait, and I stuck my right hand out and caught him. He was a big beautiful eagle, and that was the result I got for my suffering the night before. Before I finished killing him, another big one came down on top of my pit and walked over to the bait. I caught him as I had the other one and pulled him into the pit where I killed him, and there was never a happier person than I. I forgot all about my pains. I was happy as I thought of what I had done the night before. I did not have to go very far to get results for the suffering I did the night before. After that the leader said, since I was lucky, I should get up mornings and look at the flag to see if the winds were right.

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If a man goes out on the hills to fast and suffer and some holy person or animal comes to him and tells him that he will be lucky and kill an enemy, but when he goes out as leader, the enemy kills one of his party instead, he will come home crying because the people will think that he didn't fast right or that his dream wasn't real. Brave men will start fasting again and seek an even stronger god by fasting longer and offering their flesh to the Sun. The older men watch one who has lost a warrior when he fasts. If the suffering is too severe, men of his father's clan pay him to stop for fear that he will kill himself. After he has suffered a while, the parents of the warrior who was killed in battle will give a feast to the man and ask him to stop. When a leader goes out to war as a result of the promise of a certain animal and loses one of his men, he will reject that animal's vision instructions if sent to him again in a dream. He will keep on fasting until another god comes to him. It is often hard to get men to follow an unlucky leader. If he goes out a second time and kills or strikes an enemy, the people will say, "You have a real protector now, one that is going to be a great help to you."

My god is the horse. When I was a young man, I led a horse around the sacred cedar standing in the center of Like-a-Fishhook Village by means of thongs in my flesh until I fell down unconscious. As I lay there, a horse came to me and promised me success in hunting and warfare. I killed two enemies a long ways from home because of this dream. The horse sang me his sacred songs, but I am not allowed to sing them for you. I have done all the things the horse asked of me, and the horse has done everything he promised me he would. The doctoring you saw me do did not come from the instructions the horse gave me. The sharp stick I used for letting out matter came from my rights in the Big Bird ceremony my sisters and I bought of Big Black, my father's brother.

726 159

I can illustrate by a story how a man organizes a war party to go out for the enemy that his god has promised him. The leader is careful to do just as he was instructed.

The party was to leave from Fishhook Village. The leaders were Old Bear (Tamisik clan), Crows Breast (Tamisik clan), and Porcupine Head (Speckled Eagle clan). I joined the party because of a suggestion by Afraid To Be Chief [his mother's brother and head of the lodge at that time] that he had no horses. If we got horses, we would be pretty well fixed. When a party of this kind is made up, they do not announce it but act quietly in preparation for the trip. A night was set to leave. Those planning to join got together a supply of moccasins and food. A lodge was designated as our meeting place. The party met this time in Two Chief's lodge. Others came to look on and wish us luck so that the lodge was packed full of people.

In addition to the leaders mentioned already, there were these warriors in the party: Big Steal (Tamisik clan), Long Tail (Prairie Chicken clan), Afraid

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

lose any Young Wolves. It would be a blur to my record to 'kick the stone' so I am going back." The others returned with him. 726 159

When we came back, there was nothing of importance until we reached the Killdeer Mountains, where a Sioux war party saw us. We took the middle of the flat east of the Killdeer Mountains, and one of the party killed an antelope. We wasted no time pulling the hide off, and went right on to Red Paint Creek. I laid the hide out to dry to use on my horse that had a sore back. While we were roasting the meat, a whirlwind took the hide up into the air and whirled it, all the time with the flat side down.

When it happened, we said as a joke, "The enemy is upon us," but each of us jumped onto his horse and followed the creek down to the Little Missouri. We did not stop until we reached Cedar Butte, four miles above Hans Creek, when we went into an elm thicket to rest the horses. While there, an owl came and hooted. The enemy had outnumbered us ten to one and had been watching us from the Killdeer Mountains. They thought they had us, but it was the whirlwind that saved us. It was almost a miracle that we escaped the enemy. [The enemy was never seen but was merely suspected by the signs.] From our camp in Hans Creek we left at dawn without food and rode until we reached Manure Creek, where we grazed our horses in a clearing in the woods and cooked meat. We reached Like-a-Fishhook Village at sunset.

Puts Away His Hair got no credit for the lodge even though he found it just where his medicine said it would be.

The Mandan distinguished two kinds of supernatural experiences, those which were received through dreams and those actually seen, the latter being considered the more reliable. Crows Heart thought that what one actually saw could be depended on, whereas all dreams were not real. Scattercorn told of a Mandan who was visiting the Crow Indians. She said: "A friend took him to the top of a high mountain. While there a storm came up so they sought shelter under a cliff. During the night Thunderbird came by with his wings straight out. The lightning came out of his neck, and, when he moved his wings ever so little, it thundered. This Mandan really saw this bird, and it was his guardian after that." 787

All women fasted at least once during their lifetime. Self-torture was rarely practiced except in unusual instances. Scattercorn recalled an instance when three brothers were killed by the Cheyennes, who had been in the village exchanging robes for corn. When they left, they met men coming back loaded with meat. No precautions were taken when they saw the Cheyennes, since they knew what their mission had been. The brothers of the slain men fasted and practiced self-torture to get supernatural aid. When the war party left, one sister cut off two fingers 785 562

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

and offered them to the sky-gods. She slashed her legs and arms where they had just healed after the mourning cuts she had inflicted. She fasted four days. Although she did not receive a vision, she attributed the unusual success of the war party to her sacrifices.

Men and women never fasted at the same places. Women usually fasted in their gardens or on the corn scaffolds. Women could pledge to give the Okipa, in which case they were permitted to fast on the roof, while a brother assumed the responsibilities of Okipa Maker. They rarely fasted more than one day and night at a time. The supernatural powers which one received were believed to be in direct proportion to one's suffering. Front Woman did not think women needed as powerful guardians as men, so she fasted only one day and night until she contracted sore eyes which would not heal. She and her mother's sister who also had eye trouble paid for the right to fast on the Okipa lodge while the ceremony was being held. Her eyes improved, but her mother's sister's eyes did not. Both fasted during the four days of the ceremony but returned to their lodge at evening.

Doctoring rights were included with most tribal hereditary bundles, and the rights to doctor were sold with the bundle. Such rights could also be acquired through supernatural instructions or purchased from one who had secured the right through visions. The latter practice, though common, did not continue for more than two or three generations. Only tribal bundles continued the hereditary character of doctoring rights generation after generation and with little change. Both men and women doctored. Women rarely doctored outside their own family until after the menopause.

The following account is typical of doctoring beliefs and practices.

MRS. GOOD BEAR'S NARRATIVE OF DOCTORING

My mother, Stays Yellow, fasted in the woods in quest of a god. Just before daylight she fell asleep. In her dream she saw two old people doctoring a woman who was having difficulty bearing a child. She saw that they were using black roots [Black Medicine] which they dug up in the forest. The old people, a man and a woman, had a hide rattle decorated with white feathers. She listened to the song they were singing. At the same time they administered to the woman giving birth to the child, they were doctoring to a number of dead watersnakes. The old woman chewed the roots and blew the chewed-up mass over the snakes; each time she blew on a snake, it came alive and

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Calf Woman told of an old Mandan with ten sons who instructed them each to take one of his teeth to be carried in battle. After he died, he was placed on a scaffold for one year, when the teeth were taken by the sons and kept as sacred objects. The skull was placed at one of the skull circles near a People Above shrine, and the other bones were buried. He had been very successful in warfare but died of a boil.

The skulls of those who died away from the village were usually brought back a year later, if requested by the relatives, by either a man or woman of the father's clan. It was customary to have a woman bring back the skull if summer village hunting expeditions were in the vicinity; otherwise a man leaving on a war expedition was delegated to secure the skull. Skulls brought back were placed at one of the shrines, of which there were a number adjacent to each village.

All men and women fasted, and most people had vision experiences. All were medicine men just as all were warriors or hunters. Some acquired reputations as medicine men just as some had good reputations as warriors or hunters. There was no grouping into cults according to vision; such division as did occur was based on ownership of related hereditary tribal bundles, a system much like the Pawnee except for a greater flexibility deriving from the four-sale right. It cannot be said that inherited bundle-owners were higher in tribal regard than those who practiced doctoring or led successful war parties. Each stood on his own record. Such advantage as hereditary bundle-owners had over others came from their possession of tribal lore belonging to the bundle. Since each hereditary bundle-owner was instructed in the traditional history of the bundle, he became an authority on the early history of the tribe. Four Bears rose to eminence and became second chief without inheriting any bundles of his parents other than a sacred shield and rain-calling robe. He had a successful war record and did much fasting. That would never have elevated him to more than a war leader, but the many feasts he made to which the older hereditary bundle-owners were invited gave him the necessary prestige. He gave the Okipa twice. Crows Heart had a good war record but never rose to eminence. His home being near a river crossing, people were always stopping there for meals. Nevertheless, he gave few for-

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mal feasts to which the older people were invited and was considered selfish, in spite of the fact that he probably fed more people than those who offered feasts from time to time.

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It was the duty of all to fast, but few could inherit tribal bundles. After the smallpox of 1837, there was probably a much higher percentage of the population owning these hereditary tribal bundles. Visions could be bought and sold like hereditary bundles, but their existence was usually short-lived unless they became incorporated into hereditary bundle rites. A man ordinarily did not boast of the bundles he owned. Instead, he would boast of the potency of the bundles. The Hidatsa custom of buying the father's bundle because he dreamed of it was not the Mandan way. A Mandan bought because he was expected to, and people would condemn him for failing to buy. The man would ask his son to buy. If he had no son, but a son-in-law was living in the lodge, he would ask him to buy. Instruction was direct between seller and buyer, whereas the Hidatsa used a member of the father's clan as intermediary. Moves Slowly did not dream of the Corn Medicine before buying. He was hereditarily entitled to it. When one of the Mandan Corn bundles reached the Awaxawi,[17] Poor Wolf bought because he dreamed of it. The Hidatsa performed a ceremony because they had a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Little Eagle, the Numak-maxEna bundle-owner, was killed in war, and his wives automatically became the bundle-owners. When they remarried, their second husband received permission from them to officiate in the Okipa until White Calf, their son, was of proper age to assume the office. He had not dreamed of the bundle. The NaxpikE or Hide-beating ceremony of the Hidatsa was never given except when one who was a son of a man having this bundle received a vision instruction to perform the ceremony. Such was not the custom in giving the Okipa. Permission must be given by the Okipa Society because an eligible candidate either had received vision instruction or had a feeling of responsibility to give it. So we see that even between these two groups, the Mandan and Hidatsa, who have lived in close contacts for a few centuries, some fundamental differences in ceremonial organization persisted.

17. A Hidatsa band.

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FIG. 27.—Eagle-trapping camp and pits, Old Bear, leader. (Drawn by Bears Arm to show himself fasting when seventeen years of age.)

[p. 209]

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

223 or a foxskin. When trapping in the lake region east of the Missouri either a stuffed duck or goose was used. When a suitable bait was difficult to secure, the head and neck of an antelope were used. Usually the bait was secured while the party was traveling to the trapping grounds. When a stuffed skin was used, a piece of raw meat was tied to it. Some picketed a live eagle near the pit when one was available, if luck was unusually bad. There was a song to the bait which the leader used when "tying the bait," as well as a prescribed method of carrying it to and from the pit.

796 223 78 [787] Torture of the trappers, by one of several techniques, occurred regularly, and there was a prescribed ritual for the person offering himself. It was believed that someone should "suffer for the birds" if the expedition were to be successful. The Mandan felt, after uniting with the Hidatsa at Like-a-Fishhook Village, that visions were difficult to secure in the village ceremonies because there were too many ill-informed people, particularly women, who violated the customs. Crows Heart frequently stated that torture in the Okipa ceremony was less frequently practiced and that he preferred to seek a vision away from the village. Usually a young man would decide beforehand to seek a vision while away from the village trapping eagles, the type of torture being recommended by an older clan brother. The Chief of the Hunter's duty was to pierce the flesh and insert the thongs, except that, when he stood in a joking relationship with the vision-seeker, he could not serve, and another was selected, usually his assistant. Some trappers pulled buffalo skulls through camp by means of thongs fastened through the skin of the back. Crows Heart once hung over a cliff by means of thongs through the skin of the chest. Bears Arm hung from a tree. Sometimes the vision-seeker had no preference, and the leader suggested that he bring wood into camp. In such instances, wood was tied up into twelve bundles,[34] to which lariats were fastened, and dragged to camp by means of thongs through the flesh to which the lariats were tied. All the wood was dragged into camp without help from others, the sufferer even removing his moccasins to make the pain more severe. Tortur-

34. Each bundle represented one of the eagle's tail feathers.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ing of trappers was performed the evening that the pits were completed.

Ordinarily when a party was composed of advanced middle-aged men, none were tortured, except on occasions when the birds would not stop, or when the winds continued from the wrong direction, there would be fasters on the hills crying during the night. If bad luck continued, then some would offer their bodies for torture and even cut off a piece of finger as an offering to the birds. In historic times there seems to have been somewhat more emphasis of the torture feature when eagle-trapping by the Mandan than the Hidatsa. Since we know from historic accounts[35] that the torture feature was highly developed with the Mandan, it appears that there occurred a transfer from village to nonvillage rites, the latter taking place when on hunting, eagle-trapping, and war expeditions.

Someone was selected, generally one of the waiters, to go out before daylight to determine the direction of the wind. The wind must be from a westerly direction, or it was believed that the birds were not traveling. Crows Heart explained that the calumet eagles nested in the Rocky Mountains and that the pits were located along the migration route to their wintering grounds to the southeast.[36] A piece of soft hide tied to the top of a pole placed on a high hill within view of the camp was employed to indicate the direction of the wind. If favorable winds were blowing, the leader was notified. He ordered all the trappers to prepare for trapping. None was allowed to eat before going out to the pits, as trapping was considered a form of ceremonial "suffering for the birds." Each trapper left shortly after daybreak for his pit, carrying his bait, a ceremonial fiber snare painted red with a piece of Black Medicine attached to it, and several leather snares. The bait was tied to two stakes driven into the ground four inches from the west edge of the pit. A shallow

35. See Maximilian, Prince of Wied, *Travels in the Interior of North America, 1832–1834*, in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites, XXIII (Cleveland, 1906), 331–33, 377–78; cf. George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians*, I (Philadelphia, 1857), 265–75.

36. Benson explained that the southland was the meeting place in winter of many creatures considered holy. Among these he included the thunderbirds, eagles, hawks, ducks, geese, cranes, herons, as well as the spirits of the corn and other garden products. This meeting place was an island where Old Woman Who Never Dies lived in her large earth lodge with four large snakes living in the water surrounding her island as her helpers.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

Chapter XVII

SUMMARY

796 773 776 THE ceremonies were highly formalized and were in part organized on an annual basis. The Mandan attributed their creation and appearance on the earth to certain magical acts of the sacred beings who preceded them to prepare the world before creating all the living things. It was believed that the sacred beings protected the people so long as the ceremonies were performed. The Mandan also believed that other peoples created by the same sacred beings in mythological times performed similar ceremonies and that the sacred beings favored those tribes making the most lavish ceremonial display of goods. It was believed that good relations must exist with all the sacred beings. To accomplish this, segments of the total ceremonialism were intrusted to certain individuals or groups of individuals, and the novice was informed that failure to perform the rites in the prescribed manner would bring bad luck.

778 785 Sacred objects were believed to have *xo'pini*, which informants translated as meaning "power." An individual's "power" was said to increase if he fasted frequently, assisted others in the purchase of sacred bundles, or bought tribal bundles. This "power" was consumed when leading war parties, being largely gone at the end of the fourth expedition, when a man was expected to terminate his war expeditions. This "power" was believed to be lost a little at a time in the daily life of crossing rivers, hunting buffaloes, training horses, or performing other hazardous avocations. A man was believed to acquire a great [837] deal of *xo'pini* from the buffaloes when he invited older men to have ceremonial sexual intercourse with a wife, and, by the same token, men frequently refused intercourse when they had partaken in a number of the "walking" ceremonies. Very old people were believed to have less *xopini*, having given most of it away to the younger people, particularly the men, who re-

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

quired much "power" to pursue successful war and hunting activities.

A Mandan would say, "I claim no power for myself. I have no power except what my sacred objects have promised me." Children were protected by the parents' bundles until they were old enough to fast.

A young man on his first war expedition usually carried a sacred object from his father's bundle. This practice was repeated until the potency of the son's sacred bundle was established.

Supernatural power was acquired by the purchase of tribal bundles, feasts to tribal bundles, ceremonial sexual license, self-torture, and by showing kindness to the old people. The Mandan also believed that some people were "adopted" by a supernatural being without the novice's knowledge, since some people possessing no important tribal or individual bundles were unusually successful.

Women participating in sexual ceremonialism during the buffalo-calling rites contributed to the husband's supernatural "powers." The writer interviewed a number of women who had "walked with the buffaloes," as the practice is called. All agreed that they sought a good home, a loyal husband who was successful in hunting and warfare, good health, and plenty of food and clothing. They believed that the sexual act was tantamount to intercourse with the buffaloes, who, when placated, sent the herds to the prairies near the villages and promised the warriors success in warfare. Ceremonial sexual intercourse strengthened the marital bonds. It was believed that the buffaloes did all that they promised in dreams. Dreams were easy to get from the buffaloes.

The concept of "power" as a substance was further demonstrated by the manner of handling sacred objects. During the buffalo-calling ceremonies, the men impersonating buffaloes held out their sacred bundles for the women to press to their naked breasts. A woman placed her arms on the "holy man," dragging her arms downward toward the hand holding the bundle as though drawing the sacred powers possessed from the body into the sacred bundle, which was then taken from the buffalo impersonator and held to her breast. By this act it was

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

cial song for the waiter in which he danced alone. The leader's waiter on his side was the main waiter, and the other was an assistant. If the main waiter was absent, the assistant did the work. In the evening the women would bring wood into the camp for the sweathouse.

When the wind was in the right direction, we went into the pits. That is what we called the good wind. When the wind is from the southwest or northwest, it was considered good to fair wind, but the west was considered the best. The waiter was the first one to be up and around. He would go out and look at the flag. When he saw that the wind was from the right direction, he would say, "The wind is in the right direction." The men would all get out of bed and go to their pits.

The leader would say, "I will help the waiter if he wants to go into his pit. I will stay and do his work."

When the waiter went out to see the flag and the wind was blowing from the other directions, he would come back and report it to the leader by saying, "Leader, the wind is in the wrong direction."

The leader would say to the men, "When you are through eating, go out and hunt." There was a term that they used. Instead of saying morning meal, he would say, "After you are through sitting on it," meaning that the eagle sits on the bait. That was why he used that term. He would use the words, "Go out and throw stones at animals," meaning to hunt game. When the wind was right, we went to our pits. Raven Knows Nothing caught three good eagles with black tips; then we had another meeting the same as before. The women would come, and we would have a good time. The leader would have the men come to him for their corn balls again.

Another time we went to our pits and Packs Wolf caught two with black tips, and then the leader, himself, caught two. They were black tipped also. Those were all the birds caught.

The night after the catch was made, I asked the Crack Shot (Sitting Owl, Maxoxati clan) to fill up the pipe; he did so and gave it to me. I took the pipe and gave it to the leader, saying, "My leader, take this pipe, for I wish to suffer." He was glad. Beforehand, I had prepared my sticks. I made three of them. The Crack Shot and his helper took me outside close to the lodge by a tree and there they cut my breast on both sides and on the top of my right arm. They fastened the rawhide rope to the sticks, and then I ran around the tree while the ceremony and singing was going on inside the lodge. After all the songs were sung, the same men who tortured me came out and took the rawhide rope off and pulled the sticks out. The sticks were taken in and placed on the altar. Several days after that, Charging was tortured. When I suffered, I had my medicine bundle, the Bear Medicine, that I got from my father, hanging on my right arm. When I suffered, it was like a prayer asking the great spirits to help me to live long in the world, be fortunate in everything I undertook, and have property. I prayed to Black Medicine because Spring Boy and Lodge Boy said that they would turn into that root[11] but that their spirits would go back into the skies and help the people. That was why I prayed to them. The idea of fasting and offering myself this way was so that I might be blessed by the spirits. Then in war I would come out victorious and defeat the enemy.

11. A piece of this root is tied to each snare.

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

I told you of the case where a man fasted in a bear's den, and the bear took a hold of him and threw him to one side. This man dreamed that night that the bear came and blessed him and told him that he would be a successful warrior and a brave man. Afterward a son was born to him; the son was Seven Bears. The Assiniboine came with the intention of destroying our village, but Seven Bears was brave. They shot him with arrows and bullets, but they had no effect on him. His horse was shot, but he got on another and came back. He fought the enemy and ran over them; he struck them so that the enemy turned and ran back. Torturing was a part of our prayers, for, whenever one prays, he should fast. In torturing, one will have a dream of a spirit, and that way he is blessed. By doing these things, some of the men got great power from the spirits. Crows Heart once saw that Old White Man's back was full of scars, and Crows Heart asked him how many times he had suffered. Old White Man could not remember; his skin had been pierced so many times.

The next one to be tortured was Packs Wolf. His suffering was inside of the lodge, where he was fastened to the roof. His feet were off of the ground, and a stick was given to him with which to swing himself. While he was hanging there, the leader sang his songs.

Then several days after that Spotted Weasel whittled four sticks, came back, and made a sweathouse. They ran sticks through his wrist and up to the braces of the sweat lodge, and he was also tortured on the breast. When one is tortured in the sweathouse, the women are not permitted to go into it at any time. The Crack Shot was Sitting Owl, and Spotted Weasel was his son-in-law, so he got another man to act in his place. He asked Raven Knows Nothing to do the torturing. When we went in there, the leader began to pour water on the stones, and we got down low near the ground, but Spotted Weasel could not, being tied up there near the roof. He cried to the spirits; it was a hardship for him to go through, but he did. After that, we went into our pits, but no one caught any more birds, even though we were there over one month.

Now that the sweathouse was made, each one of us got some good dried meat and a whole meat [the large piece stripped off of the length of the animal's back]. We paid the leader, and he took us into the sweat lodge to cleanse all of us. We broke camp and started for home. Bluestone and I, being single, left the others and came ahead.

On the other trips with other men, they would not let the women come into the lodge. I thought that the reason for being unlucky was because they had let the women in.

I heard that Blue Stone's father, Wood Mouth or Medicine Bird, whipped his wife one day when he was a leader and his men did not have any luck in catching the eagles. By doing that their luck changed from bad to good. They caught many eagles. I do not know if some great spirit told him to do that or not, but I do know that they ordinarily did not do that, for men, women, and children were expected to be kindhearted and not have any ill-feeling toward each other.

We did not change pipes but used both red and black stone, depending on the kind the leader had. In early days they did not have the red stone pipes. Then the stone was black, and the pipe was straight without the elbow. The hole was in the end, and the stone fitted in on the inside was called I-go-xE'.

In the ceremony they used a special medicine pipe taken from the bundles.

3:Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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which were pushed in as they burnt. This was done because the First Man told them they must never have a big fire after the day's cooking was done and showed them how it should be built. It recalls the sacred fire of the Muskogi and other tribes of the lower Mississippi. They declared that many of the every day customs were taught them thus and consequently they always did them a certain way,—thus Ochkih-Hedde taught them to tattoo themselves, and their first chief taught them to kill buffalo and to make shields.

The Mandans practiced penances and sacrifices, especially self-torture which they carried to great extremes. Their medicine or personal guardian spirit was acquired by three or four days fasting and self injury, after which the medicine, often an animal, appeared to the candidate in a dream. This ceremony was also taught to them by Ochkih-Hedde. No expedition or enterprise was undertaken without a liberal sacrifice to some supernatural being, either by offering valuable goods or by physical self-torture. Finger joints were frequently cut off as an offering to the gods and fasting was common as a propitiation. Often a day or more would be spent near one of the medicine scaffolds in groaning, praying and weeping. Lewis and Clarke relate that finger joints were also cut off as a sign of mourning, which Maximilian denies, and Catlin tells how such a sacrifice was a part of the catalogue of tortures in the great Okeepa dance. The custom of consecrating personal property is found here as among the neighboring tribes. A man could make his gun, his horse, his pipe and other similar articles medicine by going through certain ceremonies, most important of which was the giving of a feast. The feast[1] was announced by a public crier, a certain number of guests were invited, the invitations being originally little rods and later playing cards. The drum and rattle made the round of the company. Then the article was consecrated; if a gun, it was rubbed with meal several times, with soup, and lastly with fat, after which the feast took place.

There were many shrines and sacred articles among the Mandans, but judging from the accounts, the sacred bundles or

[1] Maximilian: p. 463.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

796 act in conformity with their parts, endeavouring to imitate the natural attitudes of the animals they represent. 5. Two men, representing white-headed eagles, are painted of a dark brown colour; the head, neck, fore arm and hands, and the lower part of the legs, are white; they carry a stick in their hands, and their business is to pursue the antelopes. 6. Are two beavers; they wear the robe with the hairy side outwards, have a piece of parchment, resembling a beaver's tail, fastened to their girdle, and are painted brown. 7. Are two birds of prey; their shoulders are blue, the breast yellowish and spotted; they have feathers on their heads, and the feet of birds of prey in their hands. 8. Are two or four bears (mato), wrapped in bears' skins, with the head and claws, which cover their head and their whole body; they generally walk in a stooping attitude about the dancers, and growl like those animals. 9. Two men represent the dried meat, which is cut in small strips. They wear a cap of white hare skin; their body is painted with zig-zag stripes; round the waist they have a girdle of green boughs, and they dance with the others. 10. Forty or fifty Indians of different ages perform the part of antelopes; they are painted red on the back, the rest of the body and limbs are white, the nose and mouth black; they carry small sticks, and run about very swiftly. 11. Two men personate the night; they are naked, painted quite black, with white stars; on their backs they have the setting moon, and on their breast the rising sun; they are not allowed to sit, during the whole day, till the sun has set: they then sit down and must not rise till the next morning. 12. Are one or two wolves; they are painted white, wear a wolf's skin, and pursue the antelopes, which fly before them: if they catch one, the bears come and take it from them and devour it. All these animals imitate the originals to the best of their power. 13. Two prairie wolves; the tops of their heads are painted white, their faces yellowish-brown; they wear dry herbs in their hair, and carry in their hands a stick, painted with reddish-brown stripes, and run in the prairie before the other animals when they leave the village. Almost all these animals are said to have different songs, with words, [424] which the uninitiated do not understand; they sometimes practise these songs for a whole summer, and are frequently obliged to pay a high price for instruction. Originally there were only ten masks at this festival. The white-headed eagles, the beavers, and the prairie wolves, are a modern addition, and no part of the true ancient observances of it. When all these animals come together they fight with each other, and perform all sorts of antics. Every animal acts according to its natural character; the beavers strike with their tails, making a loud clapping noise; the buffaloes roll and wallow in the sand; the bears strike with their paws, &c.

796 785 304 During all these masquerade dances, the penitents have remained three entire days in the medicine lodge, where they have fasted and thirsted, sitting perfectly still and quiet. On the afternoon of that day, the persons of the ten masks also meet in the medicine lodge, and all together then leave this place. The penitents lie down on their bellies, in a circle round the ark, at some distance from it; the masks dance among them and over them, to the sound of

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the schischikué. Some already begin to suffer the tortures: they give a gun, a blanket, or some other article of value, to an eminent person, to inflict the tortures on them. During this time the Kani-Sachka has been moaning, and leaning on the ark. The tortures of the penitents now begin. In many of them strips of skin and flesh are cut from the breast, or the arms, and on the back, but in such a manner that they remain fast at both ends. A strap is then passed under them, and the sufferers are thrown over the declivity of the bank, where they remain suspended in the air; others have a strap drawn through the wound, to which the head of a buffalo is fastened, and they are obliged to drag this heavy weight about; others have themselves suspended by the muscles of the back; others have joints of their fingers cut off; others, again, are lifted up by the flesh, which is cut across the stomach, or have some heavy body suspended to the muscles, which have been cut and loosened, and other similar tortures. Those who have been tortured on this day return directly to their huts; but those who can bear to fast longer do not submit themselves to the torture till the fourth day.

FOURTH DAY OF THE OKIPPE.—All those who have endured fasting for four days are now assembled in the medicine lodge. Such as feel themselves faint beg that the dancing may begin early. Accordingly, the masquerade, and the dances performed yesterday, begin at daybreak. They dance on this day sixteen times—eight times in the morning, and eight times in the afternoon. The candidates for the torture are cut about two o'clock in the afternoon; and when they have suffered to the utmost of their power, a large circle is formed; two men, who have no part in the festival, take one of the penitents between them, hold him by the hand, and the whole circle moves round with the greatest rapidity. The Kani-Sachka is likewise treated in this manner. The famished and tortured penitents, for the most part, soon fall down, and many faint away, but no regard is paid to this; they are dragged and pulled about as long as they can possibly bear it; they are then let loose, and remain stretched on the ground as if dead. The eight buffalo bulls now come forward to execute their last dance. Meantime, Numank-Machana (the first man) stands on one side of the place, and invites the inhabitants to assemble. The men come on foot and on horseback, with their bows and arrows: the arrows are adorned with green leaves at the wooden points; and, when the eight buffaloes have approached, dancing, the first man, and been repulsed by him, they are shot at from all sides, fall, roll on the ground, and then lie still as if dead. The first man then invites the inhabitants to take the flesh of the buffaloes. The latter, whose robes have already fallen off, rise, and retire into the medicine lodge. Then the dancers divide into two parties, extend their arms and legs, strike themselves on the stomach, exclaiming that they feel themselves strong; some, that they will kill enemies; others, that they will slay many buffaloes, &c. They then retire, take food, and rest themselves, and the festival is concluded.

The wounds that have been inflicted on this occasion are now healed, but they remain visible

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during the whole life, like thick swollen weals. This is to be observed in a much higher degree among the Manitaries than among the Mandans; the former seem to submit to much more severe tortures. The buffalo skulls, which these Indians have dragged about with much pain, are preserved in their huts, where they are everywhere to be seen, to be handed down from the father to the children. Many such heads are looked upon by them as medicine; they are kept in the huts, and sometimes the Indians stroke them over the nose, and set food before them. In general, the buffalo is a medicine animal, and more or less sacred.

796 837

Another very remarkable medicine festival is that for attracting the herds of buffaloes, which is usually celebrated in the autumn, or winter. I shall describe this festival, as an eye-witnes s among the Manitaries, where it is observed precisely in the same manner as among the Mandans. At this festival they leave their wives to the older men, and individual Indians do the same on certain occasions, when they desire to ask good wishes for the attainment of some object they have in view. A man, in such a case, goes, with his pipe, and accompanied by his wife, who wears no clothes except her buffalo robe, to another hut. The wife carries a dish of boiled maize, which she sets down before a third person, and the man does the same with his pipe. The woman then passes the palm of her hand down the whole arm of the person favoured in this manner, takes him by the hand, and he must follow her to a retired spot, generally to the forest surrounding the huts in the winter time; after which she returns and repeats the same process, often with eight or ten men. As soon as the man so favoured has resumed his seat, the person who asks his good wishes presents his pipe to him that he may smoke; whereupon he expresses his best wishes for the success of the undertaking or project in hand. By way of returning thanks, his arm is again stroked.

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A third medicine feast is that described by Say, by the name of the corn dance of the Manitaries. He is pretty correct in his account of it, and it is used as well among the Mandans as the Manitaries. It is a consecration of the grain to be sown, and is called the corn dance feast of the women. The old woman who never dies sends, in the spring, the water-fowl, swans, geese, and ducks, as symbols of the kinds of grain cultivated by the Indians. The wild goose signifies maize; the swan, the gourd; and the duck, beans. It is the old woman that causes these plants to grow, and, therefore, she sends these birds as her signs and representatives. It is very seldom that eleven wild geese are found together in the spring; but, if it happens, this is a sign that the crop of maize will be remarkably fine. The Indians keep a large quantity of dried flesh in readiness for the time in the spring when the birds arrive, that they may immediately celebrate the corn feast of the women. They hang the meat, before the village, on long stages made of poles, three or four rows, one above another, and this, with various articles of value, is considered as an offering to the old woman. The elderly females, as representatives of the old woman who never dies, assemble on a certain day about the stages, carrying a stick in their hands, to one

7: Catlin R, E-5 (1832-1840) 1857
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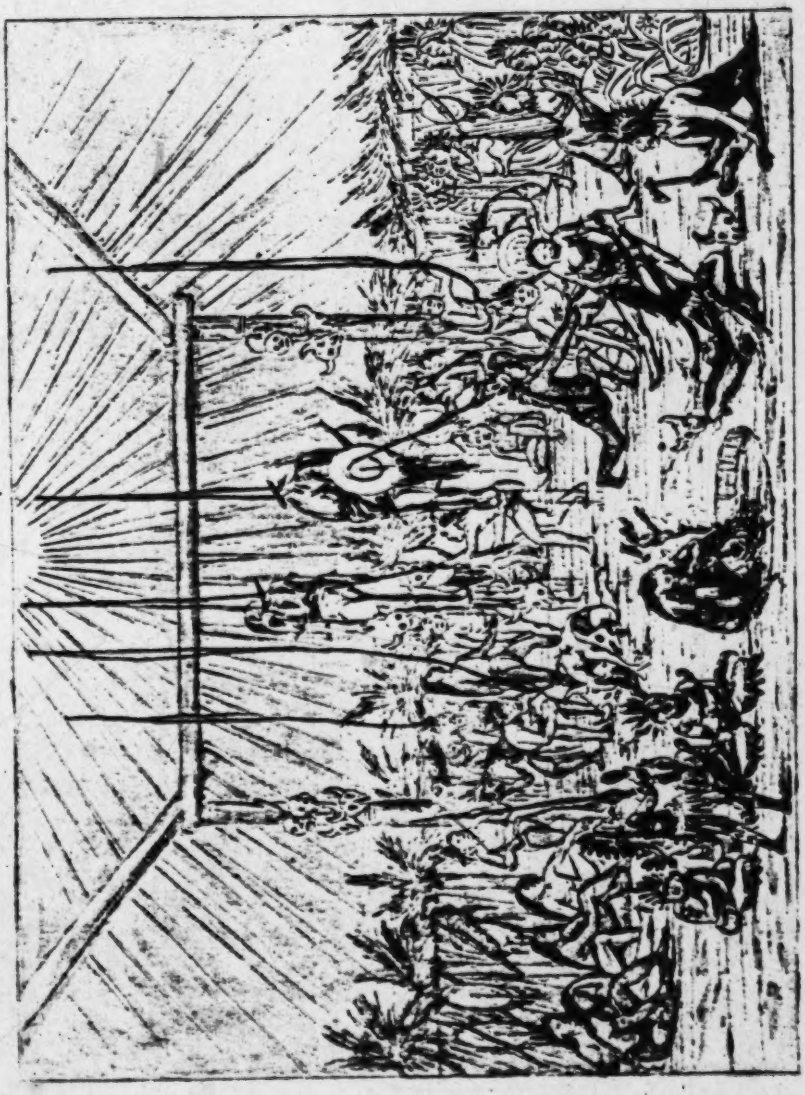

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[facing p. 169]

526 covered with dust and sweat. The race is at least six miles long,
481 and it is surprising to see what a great distance some of them gain
702 upon others. This violent exercise is performed on the hottest summer days, and it is a wonder that some of them do not pay dearly for their temerity.

541 During my absence yesterday [July 21 - Analyst] my people, who remained here, witnessed a horse race. The Mandanes assembled in great numbers on horseback, and rode about three miles below the village, where all mustered. They set out in a body, pell-mell, whipping and kicking their horses, directing their course along the foot of the hills, and made a long circuit at full speed around the village. Some of their horses appeared very swift and spirited, but others were miserable animals. On their arrival, they performed their warlike manoeuvres on horseback, feigning their different attacks upon the enemy, giving their strokes of the battleax and thrusts of the spear, and defending themselves in turn by parrying blows and covering themselves with their shields.

526 ...I observed one particular game among the Mandanes, which the young men were continually playing. Two persons are each provided with a stick six feet long, on which are cut a certain number of notches, an inch long, in the intervals of which are fixed the same number of small bunches of feathers of divers colors, with three pieces of wood, 16 inches square, one near each end, and one in the middle; these are perforated in the center, and through them is passed the rod, painted of divers colors. Each notch has a particular mark, the nature of which they themselves only understand—indeed, the same may be said of the whole game. The ground on which they play is a smooth level space, about 40 paces long and 5 broad. The players stand side by side, start from one end of the ground, and trot on till they are halfway through, when one of them throws a ball gently ahead, in such a manner that it will not roll further than the space allowed for the game; at the same time both players push their rod forward to overtake and keep pace with the ball, but not to check its course. They then examine the particular notch or bunch of feathers at which the ball stops, and count accordingly.

304 The greater part of the men—Big Bellies, Mandanes, and
787 Saulteurs (Souliers)—have lost a joint of several fingers, [364]
785 particularly of the left hand, and it is not uncommon to see only the

304 787 785 two forefingers and thumbs entire. Amputation is performed for the loss of a near relation, and likewise during the days of penance, on which they display their fortitude and courage in the following manner: When a young man has attained the age of 20 years, he generally, in the depth of winter, performs his penance by setting out entirely naked and alone, with only two or three pairs of shoes, the iron barb of an arrow, and no means of making a fire. In this condition he repairs to a certain high hill, a day's journey from the village. On this hill he must remain as many days as his strength will permit, during which time he neither eats, drinks, nor sleeps, but passes the time in dancing, bawling, howling, and lamenting. Here also he amputates a finger with the iron barb brought for that purpose. Some have been known to be absent seven days in the severest weather. This may appear incredible, but I have it from several eye-witnesses of such pilgrimages, and do not doubt it. After several days—more or fewer—the penitent makes his appearance, coming at full speed, and as there is continually somebody upon the huts, information is instantly given of his return. He is met by a particular friend, who has kept account of the number of days he has been absent, and for every day has been prepared a bull's head, to which has been fastened 1 1/2 fathams of cord. The other end of this is affixed to an incision in the penitent's back or shoulders, by pinching up a fold of skin and flesh, through which is thrust the barb of an arrow; as many days as he has been absent, so many must be the incisions, and the number of heads must also tally with them. He must then walk around the village, howling and bawling, with all those bulls' heads trailing on the ground; in some places, where the ground is rough, the poor fellow must pull and tug hard to get through, as the horns continually catch in uneven spots, and often fall into some of the empty corn pits, where they would hold until the skin gave way or the cord broke, were they not [365] attended to by some children who make it their business to disengage the horns. So many days as he has been absent, so many times must he walk round the village, never ceasing to utter lamentations. Some have been known to fall senseless during this painful ordeal; but even then they only allow themselves a few moments to recover, and proceed again. Having finished the necessary rounds, he is disengaged from the bulls' heads by his friend, with a long harangue, applauding his courage and fortitude; he may then retire to his hut and take care of his wounds, as he is in a shocking condition. Some never recover, and others languish for months before they get well.

[p. 384(G)]

304 They have another custom of putting their courage and con-
785 tempt of pain to task by tormenting their flesh in a most atrocious manner. This is done by pinching up a fold of the skin and flesh an inch broad, under which they pass the iron barb of an arrow; they raise stripes in this manner from the back of the hand to the shoulder, and thence to the breast, there joining three or four separate circles of incisions made in the same manner on the lower part of the breast. Some content themselves by raising stripes of different lengths upon their arms and thighs, and forming crescentic cuts on the breast in a very regular manner, one within the other; some with the horns upward, others downward, according to fancy.

304 Most of the women have their faces tattooed in a very savage manner, lines a quarter inch broad passing from the nose to the ear, and down each side of the mouth and chin to the throat. This disfigures them very much; otherwise, some would have tolerably
304 good faces. Some tattooing is done to beautify the face, but at
684 other times it is the disfiguring mark of a fit of jealousy in the husband. [366] When a Mandane's handsome young wife is too lavish of her favors without his consent, he tattoes her face as a punish-
[576] ment. Although it cannot be said that these people are much given
837 to jealousy, still it is absolutely necessary for a woman to have the consent of her husband to cohabit with a stranger, whether he is white or one of their own people. But I observed during my stay that this consent is not so very necessary in regard to the inhabitants of the same village, as every morning early there were examples to be seen in their plantations of their loose way of living. Many
[164] of our servants who frequent these parts to trade in the winter, and who have too intimate connections with the fair sex, are attacked by a painful and loathsome disorder, which commonly appears in the groin, where it forms abscesses and, if neglected, will soon prove dangerous.

574 [401] At three o'clock we were all safely lodged in Black Cat's
609 hut, whom we found as usual very civil and complaisant, although he plainly saw we had nothing to pay him for his trouble. This man is one of the best Indians we met on the Missourie. We found
[432] what articles we had left in his charge all in good order, and carefully hung up to keep them from the mice. He even gave me his best horse upon credit; payment to be sent this fall by any opportunity. This was considered an extraordinary circumstance for a Mandane. He gave us several instances of his good nature and generosity while we were packing; every assistance in his power he gave us, without